

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 108282

FOLLOWING REPEAT MOSCOW 6345 ACTION SECSTATE INFO LONDON MAY 6.

QUOTE UNCLAS MOSCOW 6345

STATE FOR S/AR, ZUCKERMAN

LONDON FOR AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PLOS

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW

1. FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT, AS RECORDED, OF AMBASSADOR
RICHARDSON'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY
IN MOSCOW ON MAY 4 AT 12:45 PM.

BEGIN TEXT: I HAVE NOTHING REALLY TO SAY BY WAY OF PRE-
LIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENTS OR REMARKS OR REVIEW, EXCEPT THAT
I AM HERE AS PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
FOR THE LAW OF THE SEA. AS YOU KNOW, I UNDERTOOK THIS
ASSIGNMENT AS OF EARLY THIS YEAR AND SO IT SEEMS TO ME
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IMPORTANT TO TRY AND DEVELOP AS GOOD A FEEL AS POSSIBLE
FOR THE VIEWS AND ATTITUDES OF THE COUNTRIES THAT WILL
BE PLAYING A SIGNIFICANT ROLE AT THE CONFERENCE SESSION
SCHEDULED TO BEGIN ON MAY 23. AS A RESULT, MY TWO
DEPUTIES, DARMAN AND SMITH, AND I AND OUR COLLEAGUES
HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN AN INTENSIVE SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS
OF WHICH THIS IS ONE. I THINK THAT WE WILL HAVE TALKED
TO SOMETHING OVER TWENTY COUNTRIES IN THE INTERVAL SINCE
THE INTER-SESSIONAL MEETING IN GENEVA AND BEFORE THE
BEGINNING OF THE FULL CONFERENCE SESSION IN NEW YORK. WE

HAVE COME OUT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH (IF YOU WILL PARDON THE EXPRESSION) A SENSE OF CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM. IT'S TOO BAD THAT PEOPLE WHO ENGAGE IN CONSULTATIONS OF THIS SIZE CAN'T COME UP WITH A BETTER PHRASE, BUT IT'S A USEFUL CLICHE. IT IS A FAIR CHARACTERIZATION HERE BECAUSE THE BIG PROBLEM IN THIS PARTICULAR CONFERENCE IS THAT IT INVOLVES SO MANY PEOPLE AND SO MANY COUNTRIES. AND WHILE THERE WOULD BE GROUNDS FOR BEING OPTIMISTIC ON THE BASIS OF THE DISCUSSIONS IN GENEVA ALONE, A LOT OF COUNTRIES WEREN'T AT GENEVA. IN ANY CASE THE DISCUSSIONS IN GENEVA WERE INFORMAL, THEY WERE UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF MINISTER JENS EVENSEN OF NORWAY. IN NEW YORK SOME OF THE MORE MILITANT MEMBERS OF THE GROUP OF 77 WILL BE THERE WHO WERE NOT AT GENEVA. WE WILL HAVE A DIFFERENT CHAIRMANSHIP. THERE ARE PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS AS TO HOW THE MOMENTUM ACHIEVED IN GENEVA CAN BE SUSTAINED, AND SON ON IT IS THIS LATTER SET OF CONSIDERATIONS THAT REQUIRES THE CAUTION. LET ME STOP THERE TO SEE WHAT QUESTIONS YOU HAVE.

1. MR. AMBASSADOR, DID YOU TALK TO ANY OF THE MORE MILITANT THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES ON THIS TOUR LIKE MOZAMBIQUE, KUWAIT, INDIA, ETC.

A: NO, WE DIDN'T TALK EITHER TO MOZAMBIQUE OR KUWAIT.
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WE DID TALK TO EGYPT - SMITH WENT THERE. I VISITED SAUDIA ARABIA ON THIS TRIP. BOTH OF THESE VISITS WERE INFLUENCED BY THE FACT THAT THE ARAB COUNTRIES WERE UNDER-REPRESENTED AT GENEVA. SINCE THEY WERE AMONG THE COUNTRIES THAT HAD THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY WITH THE DRAFT TEXT ON SEABED EXPOITATION IN NEW YORK, IT SEEMED IMPORTANT THAT WE TOUCH BASE WITH THEM. WE HAVE ALSO COVERED, MAINLY THROUGH DARMAN AND SMITH, OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. AMONG THE PEOPLE THAT I HAVE TALKED TO, I WOULDN'T SAY THAT INDIA REPRESENTS AN EXTREME POSITION BUT THEY REPRESENT A VERY INFLUENTIAL ROLE, A ROLE WHICH EXPRESSES THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AFTER THIS NEGOTIATION, WHICH IS WHY WE WENT THERE.

Q: MR. AMBASSADOR, WHAT MAJOR POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT DO YOU EXPECT BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE US?

A: THE USSR AND THE US HAVE BROAD AREAS OF AGREEMENT ARISING OUT OF THE ELEMENTS OF COMMON INTEREST THAT WE SHARE AS INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, AS MARITIME COUNTRIES AND AS NAVAL

POWERS. BUT I WOULDN'T WANT TO GO INTO DETAILS ON THE PARTICULAR ISSUES EITHER ON THOSE ON WHICH WE ARE CLOSE TOGETHER OR ON THOSE ON WHICH THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF JUDGMENT.

Q: MAY WE ASK YOU WHAT THE SITUATION IS ON THE SEABED EXPLOITATION--THAT THE SOVIETS TEND TO THE OTHER VIEW WHICH IS THAT THE PROVISION SHOULD NOT BE MADE TO PRIVATE CORPORATIONS FOR ACCESS TO SEABED FINDINGS?

A: NO, THE "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" AS A GROUP TAKE UNCLASSIFIED

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THE STRONG POSITION THAT IT IS IMPLICIT IN THE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON HERITAGE OF MANKIND THAT ALL NATIONS HAVE A RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN DEEP SEABED MINERAL EXPLOITATIONS. THIS MAKES THESE COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, SUPPORTERS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSURED ACCESS TO DEEP SEA BED MINING. THAT IS THE POSITION ALSO OF OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES INCLUDING THE U.S. THE MAIN ISSUE IN COMMITTEE ONE OF THE CONFERENCE IS THE ISSUE OF WHAT "ASSURED ACCESS" MEANS IN RELATION TO THE ROLE AND OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ENTERPRISE TO CONDUCT SEABED MINING. THE ENTERPRISE, AS I AM SURE YOU KNOW, IS THE TERM GIVEN TO THE OPERATING ARM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEA BED AUTHORITY.

Q: ARE THE COMPLETELY LAND-LOCKED COUNTRIES INVOLVED - SAY CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY?

A: THE COMPLETELY LAND-LOCKED COUNTRIES AND THE GEOGRAPHICALLY DISADVANTAGED COUNTRIES, SO CALLED, COLLECTIVELY KNOWN AS LLGDS (LAUGHTER) ORGANIZED THEIR OWN GROUP OR BLOCK AT THE CONFERENCE. THEY HAVE BEEN PUSHING FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN FISHING WITHIN THE ECONOMIC ZONES OF THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN THEM AND THE SEA, FOR REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT WOULD LET THEM SHARE IN THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF THE ECONOMIC ZONE IN THEIR REGION, AND FOR ACCESS TO THE SEA BY SOME SORT OF CORRIDOR ARRANGEMENT. BUT ON THE WHOLE SUBJECT OF SEA BED EXPLOITATION, THEIR POSITION TENDS TO DEPEND ON THE SAME SET OF CONSIDERATIONS THAT INFLUENCE OTHER PEOPLE- DEGREE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION, POSITION WITHIN THE GROUP OF 77 AND SO ON. IT'S ASSUMED THAT ALL COUNTRIES WOULD SHARE IN SOME WAY IN THE PROCEEDS OF DEEP SEABED MINING, INCLUDING THE LAND LOCKED COUNTRIES.

Q: IS THE IMPOSITION OF THE 200-MILE FISHING LIMIT BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES UNCLASSIFIED

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GOING TO COMPLICATE THINGS OR HOW DIFFERENT THAN IT WAS DURING THE LAST MEETING WILL BE DISCUSSIONS ON FISHING....

A: NO IT WON'T COMPLICATE THINGS. U.S. LEGISLATION WAS DRAFTED HAVING IN VIEW THE PROVISIONAL TEXT ALREADY NEGOTIATED IN THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE. U.S. LEGISLATION IN ANY CASE PROVIDES THAT IT WOULD BE SUPERCEDED BY AN EVENTUAL TREATY. SOVIET ACTION IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH THE TERMS OF A PROBABLE TREATY. THE ONE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT THAT THESE UNILATERAL MEASURES OF ESTABLISHING 200 MILE FISHING ZONES, OR ECONOMIC ZONES, HAS HAD IS ON SOMEWHAT REDUCING THE INCENTIVE ON THE PART OF MANY COUNTRIES TO ACHIEVE A TREATY. WHAT I MEAN BY THAT IS THAT FOR A LOT OF COASTAL STATES THE OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO EXPLOIT LIVING AND NON-LIVING RESOURCES IN THE ECONOMIC ZONE WAS A MAJOR INCENTIVE TO GET A TREATY. NOW THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION AND A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE ACTED UNILATERALLY, ALL THE OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD NOW FEEL FREE TO ACT UNILATERALLY AND ESTABLISH THEIR OWN FISHERIES OR ECONOMIC ZONES. SO TO THAT EXTENT, THEY DON'T NEED A TREATY AND THAT THUS SOMEWHAT REDUCES THE INCENTIVE TO GET ONE.

Q: WHAT ABOUT THE QUESTION OF RIGHTS OF PASSAGE, ESPECIALLY WITH US AND THE SOVIET UNION, WITH THE NAVAL SHIPS AND MILITARY AIRCRAFT PLANES- WHAT ABOUT OVERFLIGHT WITHIN THE 200 MILE ZONE. THAT HAS BEEN A STICKING POINT WITH SOME OF THE OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES?

A: THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT IN THE CONFERENCE THAT THERE SHOULD BE THE RIGHT TO OVERFLIGHT AND UNCLASSIFIED

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TRADITIONAL MILITARY USES OF THE ECONOMIC ZONE. THE DRAFT TEXT WOULD PERMIT THE CONTINUATION OF THESE USES OF THE ECONOMIC ZONE. A REASON TO SEEK A TREATY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF MARITIME AND NAVAL COUNTRIES IS THAT WITHOUT SUCH A TREATY THERE IS THE VERY REAL DANGER THAT COASTAL STATES WILL PROGRESSIVELY ASSERT FULL TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION OVER THE 200-MILE ZONE. THAT WOULD COMPLICATE THE RIGHT TO CONTINUE TRADITIONAL HIGH SEAS USES. THIS IS A PARAMOUNT REASON FOR SEEKING A TREATY, FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Q: WOULD THE SOVIET UNION AGREE TO THAT?

A: I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER MARITIME COUNTRIES WOULD AGREE WITH THIS.

MAY I ADD A WORD?...WE TOUCHED ON OVERFLIGHT TRANSIT THROUGH THE ECONOMIC ZONE. THERE IS THE EQUALLY IMPORTANT AIM OF ESTABLISHING BY TREATY THE RIGHT OF TRANSIT THROUGH STRAITS. THIS DIDN'T USED TO BE A PROBLEM AS LONG AS THE TERRITORIAL SEA WAS LIMITED TO THREE MILES, BUT IT HAS BEEN ALREADY AGREED IN THE CONFERENCE THAT THE TREATY WOULD EVENTUALLY ESTABLISH A 12-MILE LIMIT AND WE HAVE HAD SOME OF THE SAME PHENOMENA HERE THAT WE HAVE WITH THE ECONOMIC ZONE. BECAUSE THERE WAS A CONSENSUS IN THE CONFERENCE LOOKING TOWARD AN EVENTUAL TREATY, COUNTRIES HAVE FELT FREE IN THE MEANWHILE UNILATERALLY TO EXTEND THE TERRITORIAL AREA FROM 3 MILES TO TWELVE MILES. THAT MEANS THAT WHEN COASTAL STATES BORDERING STRAITS DO THIS, THEY CAN CLOSE OFF THE STRAIT, WHEREVER THIS STRAIT IS 24 MILES WIDE OR LESS. OVER A HUNDRED STRAITS AROUND THE WORLD ARE 24 MILES WIDE OR LESS. AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT ARE: GIBRALTAR, BAB AL MENDAB BETWEEN YEMEN AND SOMALIA AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE RED SEA.
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THE STRAITS OF HORMUZ AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE PERSIAN GULF, THE STRAITS OF MALACCA, WHICH ARE THE STRAITS AS YOU KNOW, THAT GO BY SINGAPORE; THE STRAITS OF LOMBOK WHICH ARE A KEY GATEWAY THROUGH THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO AND A MAJOR ROUTE FOR LARGE TANKERS TO JAPAN. SO HERE TOO THERE IS A NEED FOR A TREATY BECAUSE WITHOUT A TREATY, THERE WOULD BE NO FIRM FOUNDATION UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR TRANSIT PASSAGE THROUGH STRAITS, ONCE COUNTRIES HAVE ENLARGED THE TERRITORIAL SEAS FROM 3 MILES TO 12 MILES.

Q: SIR, WERE YOU, TALKING WITH THE SOVIETS THIS MORNING, TOUCHING BASE, NEGOTIATING WITH THEM OR JUST COMPARING NOTES OR --?

A: I WOULD SAY THAT COMPARING NOTES IS A GOOD PHRASE.

Q: HAS THEIR POSITION CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE THE LAST TIME THEY EXPRESSED IT?

A: NO IT'S MORE A MATTER OF EXCHANGING VIEWS AND INFORMATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE EVENSEN MEETING IN GENEVA AND OUR OWN RESPECTIVE BILATERAL CONTACTS IN THE MEANWHILE.

Q: HOW WAS THE MOOD THIS MORNING? WERE THEY TALKATIVE?

A: YES, I WOULD SAY IT WAS COOPERATIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE, CORDIAL.

Q: FRANK?

A: FRANK, YES (LAUGHTER)

Q: BACK TO THE SEABED EXPLOITATION, I SEE TO RECALL THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND FRANCE, HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH OUR POSITION, CAME UP WITH SOME IDEA ABOUT ACCESS AS A
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GIVEN RIGHT AND SHOULD NOT BE - I THINK THE PHRASE THEY USED--MONOPLISTIC, APPARENTLY YOU MIGHT SAY AS AN EXCUSE FOR THE FACT THAT THEY LACK THE TECHNOLOGY TO ENGAGE IN SEABED EXPLOITATION. DID THAT COME UP AT ALL?

A: NO, IT HASN'T BEEN DISCUSSED TO THIS POINT. IT IS A QUESTION THAT, AS YOU SAY, HAS BEEN RAISED BY THEM AND BY A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES HAVING IN VIEW THE STRONG LEAD THAT THE UNITED STATES NOW HAS IN THE TECHNOLOGY NEEDED FOR SEABED MINING AND IT'S AN ISSUE THAT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN DUE COURSE. IT HAS THUS FAR LOOMED VERY LARGE IN THE CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS.

Q: DID THE RUSSIANS RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE 200-MILE LIMIT WITH YOU, THE ARREST AND FINE OF SOVIET SHIPS?

A: NO, IN THE FIRST PLACE, I THINK IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION DID ENTER INTO A GOVERNING INTERNATIONAL FISHERIES AGREEMENT, A SO-CALLED GIFA, WITH US, UNDER OUR FISHERIES MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION ACT, AND THEY HAVE MUCH THE SAME INTEREST THAT WE DO IN THE POLICING OF OUR RESPECTIVE FISHERIES ZONES. BUT IN ANY CASE, COMMUNICATIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS ON THAT FRONT TAKE PLACE THROUGH DIFFERENT BI-LATERAL CHANNELS AND NOT UNDER MY OFFICE. AMBASSADOR RIDGWAY OF THE BUREAU OF OCEANS, ENVIRONMENT AND SCIENCE REPRESENTS US IN THAT CONNECTION.

Q: IS SEABED MINING CONSIDERED TO BE DISTINCT FROM OFFSHORE DRILLING FOR OIL IN THIS DISCUSSION?

A: YES, IT IS, BECAUSE NO ONE BELIEVES THAT THERE ARE PETROLEUM RESERVES IN THE DEEP SEABED
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BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE CONTINENTAL MARGIN. THIS IS BECAUSE THE NECESSARY KINDS OF SEDIMENTS ARE NOT BELIEVED TO EXIST OUT THERE. THE CONTINENTAL MARGIN REPRESENTS THE END OF THE SLOPE OF SEDIMENT CARRIED OFF TO SEA FROM LAND MASSES OR DEPOSITED AS A RESULT OF THE CONCENTRATION OF ORGANIC MATTER IN COASTAL WATERS. SO, SINCE THE TREATY CONTEMPLATES THAT THE SEABED WOULD BE DEFINED AS THE AREA BEYOND THE LIMIT OF NATIONAL JURISDICTION AND SINCE THE TREATY ALSO CONTEMPLATES THAT THERE WOULD BE NATIONAL JURISDICTION OUT TO THE EDGE OF THE CONTINENTAL MARGIN, THE COROLLARY IS THAT IT'S NOT EXPECTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL SEABED AUTHORITY WOULD BE DEALING WITH PETROLEUM. THE ONLY KNOWN MINERALS OUT THERE NOW THAT HAVE VALUE ARE THE NICKEL, COPPER, MANGANESE AND COBALT FOUND IN MANGANESE NODULES WHICH LITTER THE FLOOR OF THE DEEP OCEAN IN MOST PARTS OF THE WORLD. I SHOULD ADD THAT IF, CONTRARY TO ANY EXPECTATION, THERE WERE HYDROCARBONS IN THE DEEP SEABED THEY WOULD COME UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEABED AUTHORITY.

Q: WHO DID YOU SEE TODAY?

A: THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION IS DEPUTY MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, MINISTER KOZYREV AND THERE WERE A NUMBER OF OTHERS (I HAVE A LIST HERE SOMEWHERE). AMB. KOLOSOVSKIY, WHO IS ALSO IN THE LEGAL AFFAIRS OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DEPUTY MINISTER ZHIGALOV IN THE MINISTRY THAT DEALS WITH FISH (LAUGHTER), GENERAL BARABOLYA IS THE LAW OF THE SEA EXPERT IN THE DEFENSE MINISTRY, ALTHOUGH HE IS A MAJOR GENERAL IN THE NAVY, AND OTHERS REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY.

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Q: ARE THESE THE SAME PEOPLE YOU HAVE BEEN DEALING WITH BEFORE?

A: YES, I THINK IN EVERY CASE THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN REPRESENTING THE SOVIET UNION IN PREVIOUS LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE SESSIONS. THE ONLY ONES I HAD MET WERE THE THREE WHO WERE IN GENEVA, BUT MY OWN COLLEAGUES WHO HAVE BEEN DEALING WITH THIS SUBJECT KNOW THEM ALL VERY WELL.

Q: WERE YOUR DISCUSSIONS DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO THE LAW OF THE SEA?

A: YES.

Q: WILL THERE BE ANY FURTHER DISCUSSIONS?

A: NO, WE WILL BE MEETING AGAIN THIS AFTERNOON, BUT THAT WILL BE IT.

Q: IS THE NEW YORK MEETING ON THE 6TH?

A: NO, THE 23RD OF MAY.

Q: NO, IS THIS THE SIXTH SESSION.

A: YES, THIS IS THE THRID UNITED NATIONS LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE, WHICH BEGAN IN 1974; THE FIRST WAS IN 1958; THE SECOND IN 1960. THIS ONE IS THE MOST AMBITIOUS, THE BIGGEST IN ERMS OF PARTICIPATION. THERE ARE OVER 150 COUNTRIES INVOLVED. WE NOW HAVE A DRAFT TEXT CONTAINING SOMETHING LIKE 500 ARTICLES PLUS ANNEXES AND APPENDICES. IT'S REMARKABLE REALLY, I HAD SOME CONTACT WITH THE SUBJECT WHEN I WAS UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE AND AGAIN AS SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND MORE RECENTLY AS SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, BUT I HAVE NEVER HAD, OF COURSE, THE OCCASION TO GET INTO IT IN ANYTHING LIKE THIS DETAIL. YOU CAN LOOK AT THE GLASS AS HALF EMPTY
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OR HALF FULL. THE HALF EMPTY PERSPECTIVE WOULD FOCUS ON THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN THE EXPOOITATION OF SEABEDS, AND ON THE UESTION OF THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE ECONOMIC ZONE AND HIGH SEAS RIGHTS THAT ARE AFFECTED BY THE LEGAL STATUS; AND THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH MARINE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND A NUMBER OF OTHER PARTICULAR ISSUES THAT STILL NEED TO BE RESOLVED. IF YOU LOOK AT THE GLASS AS HALF FULL, YOU ARE IMPRESSED BY HOW REMARKABLE IT IS THAT SO MANY COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON SOM MUCH. OUT OF THE 500 ARTICLES NOW IN DRAFT FORM IN WHAT IS CALLED THE REVISED SINGLE NEGOTIATING TEXT, THE RSNT (LAUGHTER). WELL, I CAN'T KEEP SAYING THE REVISED SINGLE NEGOTIATING TEXT (LAUGHTER). THIS IS A NEW THING IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES. IT'S CALLED THAT BECAUSE AFTER A LOT OF BACK AND FORTH IN EARLIER MEETINGS AT THE END OF THE GENEVA MEETING IN 1975, THE COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN PRODUCED A TEXT WHICH THEY SAID "HASN'T BEEN NEGOTIATED WITH ANYONE": THIS IS OUR NOTION OF WHAT WETHINK REPRESENTS THE BROAD EST AREAS OF AGREEMENT IN THIS COMMITTEE. I AM GIVING IT TO YOU AS A BASIS OF FURTHER DISCUSSION". AND THEN IN EARLY 1976, IN LIGHT OF THE INTERVENING DISCUSSIONS, THEY PRODUCED A REVISION, COMMITTEE BY COMMITTEE OF THE EARLIER TEXT, SO THIS IS CALLED THE REVISED SINGLE NEGOTIATING TEXT. AT ANY RATE, IN THE WHOLE

RANGE OF 500 ARTICLES, THE EXISTING DEBATE ISSUES STILL TO BE RESOLVED PROBABLY DON'T INVOLVE MORE THAN 20 OR 30 ARTICLES. THAT IS A SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT, ISN'T IT? IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY IF THE RESULT WERE A FAILURE. THE SESSION NOW COMING UP IS A GENUINLY CRITICAL ONE BECAUSE THE LAST ONE IN NEW YORK ENDED WITH DISCOURAGEMENT ON THE ABILITY OF THE CONFERENCE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE DEEP UNCLASSIFIED

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SEABED. UNLESS WE MAKE VISIBLE PROGRESS IN DOING THIS NEXT TIME, THAT DISCOURAGEMENT CAN ONLY BE REINFORCED AND THERE IS THE VERY REAL PROSPECT THAT IT COULD HAVE THE RESULT OF DESTROYING THE WHOLE CONFERENCE.

Q: MR. AMBASSADOR, SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ON THAT SEEM TO REVOLVE AROUND IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. HOW MUCH CHANCE DO YOU GIVE OF THE SEABED EXPLOITATION ISSUE BEING RESOLVED AND DO YOU FEEL THAT THE SOVIETS MAY COOPERATE IN ENCOURAGING SOME OF THOSE MORE MILITANT COUNTRIES SEEKING TO BUILD A NEW WORLD ORDER ETC., LIKE ALGERIA, IN COMPROMISING?

A: WELL, FIRST THE CHANCES OF RESOLVING THE SEABED ISSUES DEPEND UPON THE STRENGTH OF THE MODERATE VOICES WITHIN THE GROUP OF 77 AT NEW YORK. IF THE SAME MOOD AND ATTITUDE PREVAILS IN NEW YORK THAT WE SAW IN GENEVA AND WHILE THERE WERE A LOT OF COUNTRIES NOT THERE, I SAY, THERE WERE STILL MANY OF THE MORE INFLUENTIAL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES REPRESENTED. MOST OF THEM DID TAKE A MODERATE APPROACH AND IF THEY CONTINUE IN THIS AND THAT VIEW DOMINATES WITHIN THE GROUP OF 77, THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE. ON THE SECOND PART OF THE QUESTION, NO, I DON'T THINK SO. I HAVE NO INDICATION AT ALL THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS ENCOURAGING EXTREMISTS. ON THE CONTRARY, THE SOVIET UNION, AS I SAID IN ANSWER TO ALMOST THE VERY FIRST QUESTION, HAS AN ESSENTIALLY SIMILAR APPROACH.

Q: I MEANT ENCOURAGING THE EXTREMISTS TO BE LESS EXTREME.

A: OH* I AM SORRY, YES, I AM SURE THEY WILL DO WHAT THEY CAN IN THAT DIRECTION, AS WE WILL.

Q: THE LAST SESSION - IF I REMEMBER RIGHTLY, WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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UNDER CERTAIN PRESSURE BECAUSE OF THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES THAT WERE WAITING TO INTRODUCE THEIR

200-MILE LIMITS AND THAT PRESSURE DIDN'T PRODUCE THE AGREEMENT. NOW THIS TIME THERE DOESN'T APPEAR TO BE ANY SIMILAR PRESSURE OVERHANGING THE CONFERENCE, SO WHY SHOULD IT JUST DRAG ON INDEFINITELY?

A: THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION. I POINTED OUT EARLIER THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SLACKENING OF THE INCENTIVE TO ACHIEVE A CONFERENCE AS A RESULT OF THE EXISTING CONSENSUS ON THE LEGITIMACY OF THE 200-MILE FISHERIES OR ECONOMIC ZONE. AND THAT IS TRUE, BUT THERE REMAIN THREE MAIN SOURCES OF THE DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A TREATY, NEVERTHELESS. ONE IS THE FEELING SHARED BY MOST COUNTRIES THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL SEABEDS AUTHORITY THAT CAN GOVERN THE EXPLOITATION OF DEEP SEABED MINERAL RESOURCES. UNLESS THAT IS DONE, COUNTRIES POSSESSING THE TECHNOLOGY TO ENGAGE IN DEEP SEABED MINING WILL GO FORWARD UNILATERALLY. THE UNITED STATES IS SURELY AMONG THESE AS YOU KNOW FROM THE BILLS THAT HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. I TESTIFIED TWICE THE DAY I LEFT ON THIS TRIP AND HAVE TESTIFIED ALTOGETHER PERHAPS HALF A DOZEN TIMES IN THE SHORT TIME I HAVE BEEN IN THIS JOB. THE PERCEPTION THAT THE CONTROL OF THE COMMON HERITAGE OF MANKIND AND SO ON MAY ITSELF BE FRUSTRATED BY UNILATERAL ACTION CREATES AN INCENTIVE TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON THE SEABEDS. FROM A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW, MARITIME AND NAVAL COUNTRIES HAVE AN INCENTIVE TO ACHIEVE A TREATY IN ORDER TO STABILIZE A RULE OF LAW FOR THE NAVIGATION OF ECONOMIC ZONES, STRAITS, AND SO ON. WE NEED CLEAR-CUT RULES DEFINING THE TERRITORIAL SEA AND CONCERNING HIGH SEAS RIGHTS WITHIN THE ECONOMIC ZONE AS WELL AS TRANSIT PASSAGE THROUGH UNCLASSIFIED

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STRAITS. UNLESS WE GET A TREATY, THERE IS LIKELY TO BE THE PROGRESSIVE ENCROACHMENT OF CLAIMS OF SOVEREIGNTY BY COASTAL STATES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INTERESTS OF SEA-FARING COUNTRIES; AND THIRD, THERE IS A PERCEPTION ON THE PART OF MANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE THAT THEY ARE ENGAGED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STRUCTURE OF WORLD LAW FOR 70 PERCENT OF THE EARTH'S SURFACE AND ON A SCALE THAT DWARFS ANY PREVIOUS INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL AGREEMENT. THE FEELING THAT THIS IS AN IMPORTANT EFFORT, NOT ONLY IN ITSELF BUT FOR ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ABILITY OF THE WORLD TO ESTABLISH THE RULE OF LAW, IS AN IMPORTANT MOTIVATING FORCE FOR MANY PARTICIPANTS. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. END TEXT. MATLOCK UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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